623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
545 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the shed where the fono took place until the time that he dismissed the people with the words "Sai, tuku ā (all right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the fono indicates, the orga-
829 nization of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology are such that those at high levels of authority are not thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means that formal communication between the central authorities and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way process--there is no discussion at the fono nor any legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642 The fono is merely one of a number of formal pro-
571 cedures for communicating from the top down. The Govern-
[623] ment gives people directives through District and Town
[644] Officers and through the fono, makes announcements over
[631] the radio and in the Tonga Chronicle (the national news-
207 paper, published weekly in Tongan and English editions),
[209] and gives official notice in the Government Gazette.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and for-
795 ward other directives to members through notices to the
571

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affair . . . The complaint of the chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they wished." (36) 642

Baker himself wrote to Chapman, on 3 May 1876: 643 797

> "I must acknowledge that I have drawn out the Constitution and most of the new laws and especially the new civil code, and am putting them through the press, and hope to correct the last sheet this week. . . . I have never pressed anything upon the king." (37)

On 10 June 1876, Watkin again wrote about Baker to Chapman:

> "I am not envious in the least of his position in the Church or of his influence with the king — he is welcome to all . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his brethren when he was preparing the Constitution for the Tonguese. . . . As far as I can learn the feelings of chiefs and people are against the Constitution. . . . The Chairman (also) started *The Tonga Times* [a newspaper] without consulting the brethren." (38) [204]

The Constitution was more formal and detailed than previous codes. It had an admirable declaration of rights and also wisely provided for the royal succession. This avoided quarrels about the kingship such as those that were tearing Samoa asunder. Some had suggested Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, as successor, but he had been in Fiji since 1848 and was a British subject after 1874; he was considered only if the king's family became extinct. Even if 'Unga was regarded as illegitimate through being born before the Christian marriage of his parents, this would have been unworthy, and he was now recognized constitutionally as the heir-apparent, and his son, Ngu, was designated as 'Unga's successor. As it happened, both of them predeceased Tupou I, and Tupou II succeeded as the son of Ngu's sister, Fusipala. 642 643

Certain chiefs (twenty, later thirty-three) were recognized in the Constitution as hereditary nobles. This action pleased these chiefs who had been irritated by the loss of their power over the people in 1862. It created an aristocracy, an affluent element in a poor country, landholders from whom their tribesmen received allotments on payment of rent. It may also have occurred to Baker that the elevation of some chiefs to the rank of nobles would enhance his own prestige with this powerful group; and yet it was from this section that there came much of the opposition that brought about his downfall and ended his political career in 1890. 642 565 [797]

The leasehold system of land tenure was at the heart of the Constitution. It prevented the alienation of land and also any influx of European settlers who could have caused troubles like those which played a part in the cession of Fiji in 1874. The absence of European plantations removed any need for bringing indentured labourers from abroad, again a very grave problem in Fiji. Only the Tongan Cabinet could approve any lease to a European. The Parliament was to consist of 20 nobles and 20 commoners (later, reduced to seven in each case). As in the earlier Codes, the Sabbath was made a sacred institution in perpetuity. Adultery and fornication were still criminal offences. 642 423 609 [645] [927] [646] [527] [684]

Baker may have thought he had weathered the storms within the Mission staff as far as his part in preparing the Constitution was concerned, but his continued involvement in political affairs led to further controversy. He was assailed in the District Meeting on 11 December 1876 on new charges. A fiery and unstable young missionary, James Thomas, brought accusations which, at first, gave Baker an opportunity of turning the tables on his critics. James Thomas alleged that Baker had been "meddling with the politics of Tonga in becoming virtually king", "becoming the author of the new and existing laws of Tonga", 797

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which he did not emerge unscathed; and even on these he was fortunate that many of the Tongan witnesses called by Maudslay failed to appear. This was hardly surprising when the reluctance of Tongans to give evidence at a public inquiry against a person in Baker's position is recognized. During the three weeks of the inquiry Baker was speaking at church meetings, enlarging upon what he called Tonga's danger of annexation and also making difficulties for any witnesses who might appear on Maudslay's behalf. There was nothing to substantiate the allegation that Baker was connected with the German firm or had received any emoluments from it. Trood, Godeffroy's manager, emphatically denied this.

Baker placed much emphasis in his final address upon his repudiation of the charges of using political influence. His boastful statements, actually, gave enough evidence of political activities to justify condemnation by his Church which strictly forbade missionaries to engage in these. He was in fact a self-confessed offender against the laws of his Church. These were his concluding statements:

> "That I have great influence with the Tongan Government I don't deny; that I designed their flag, I admit; that at the king's request I compiled the original draft of the Constitution, I admit; that at his request I assisted him in reference to the laws, I admit; that I corrected the proof copies of the laws, I admit; that at his request I planned the present system of police courts and debtors' court and a system of registration, I admit; that so long back as 1862 I drew out the charter of their liberty, I admit; that I was editor of the *Po'opo'oi* and *the Tonga Times*, I admit; that I have used influence to compel, or to enforce, or to interfere, I deny; I have given my opinion, but I have never pressed my views either on the king or on the chiefs, which His Majesty's letter to the committee proves." (62)

Baker printed a lengthy report ("Resume") of the commission's inquiry and circulated this widely among the members of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference which met in January 1880 to consider the commission's findings. The event showed that Baker's published "Resume" did not affect the decision of the Conference. Baker's recall stood.

Why was Baker recalled? Was there any truth in his statement,

> "It is because of my expressed opposition to the annexation of Tonga to Fiji that I am thus wanted out of the way." (64)

Britain had never proposed annexation. Irresponsible statements on the subject had appeared in Fiji newspapers but Britain's policy, though opposed to German ambitions in Tonga, was always clear at this point.

The policy of the Wesleyan Mission was just as free from any approval of annexation; as Chapman wrote to Osborne in London, "If the king thought that the missionaries whom he has loved and trusted so long could be brought to sympathize with that object, he would spurn them as traitors".(65)

Minns knew that Baker was taking refuge in the excuse that he was defending Tonga against British annexation:

> "This representation of the designs of the English Government is without doubt simply a dodge to remain in Tonga and laugh at the Committee and the Conference." (66)

Baker was not being made a martyr in the cause of Tonga's independence. He was recalled by his Church as the climax to the dissatisfaction that repeated events of the previous ten years had provoked and as the consequence of his continuous breach of Church rules against missionaries engaging in political activities. He had offered to withdraw from Tonga in December 1878, as he had several times before, and he had afterwards done nothing. On 6 January 1880 he again wrote to the President of the Conference stating his decision to leave Tonga.(67)

/279 cont./

871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.
[777]

177 The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
[538] slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[209] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[204] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[546] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school, are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
871 positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
181 Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
186 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives